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# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

**1621**<sup>st</sup> MEETING: 21 DECEMBER 1971

NEW YORK

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(16 p.)

#### NOTE

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## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 21 December 1971, at 8. p.m.

*President:* Mr. I. B. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1621)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. The situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the previous decision of the Council [1606th meeting] I invite the representatives of India and Pakistan to participate in the debate on this item, without vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Swaran Singh (India) and Mr. A. Shahi (Pakistan) took places at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT: Also in accordance with previous decisions of the Council [1607th and 1615th meetings] I invite the representatives of Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Ceylon to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia) and Mr. H. S. Amerasinghe (Ceylon) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: As members of the Council will recall, there were a number of draft resolutions before it when it adjourned for consultations. I am now pleased to inform you that after intensive consultations with the parties concerned—India and Pakistan—it has now been possible, due mainly to the untiring efforts of the representative of Somalia, Ambassador Farah, to reach agreement on an acceptable draft. It is contained in document S/10465 and is sponsored by Argentina, Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia.

4. The proposed draft resolution is factual and is capable of commanding the support of all members around this table. It is non-partisan and to a considerable extent represents a compromise of the multiplicity of draft resolutions that have been presented to the Council or discussed in the corridors during the past two weeks. It has been voided of all controversial aspects and therefore it is in a position to command the support of all.

5. The draft resolution before the Council this evening takes account of the realities of the existing situation. It calls upon both sides to the conflict to make the cessation of all hostilities durable and provides for withdrawals of all armed forces from the troubled zones. To this end it stresses the need for the preservation of peace in the subcontinent. Lasting peace in the area cannot be achieved unless the Geneva Conventions of 1949 are respected and meticulously observed.

6. A point in this connexion is the rumoured retaliatory measures now taking place in Dacca and elsewhere. We are aware that feelings are high and the danger of reprisals for sufferings meted out by the troops of the Pakistan Government since March is imminent.

7. The draft resolution also calls for concerted efforts from the international community for the rehabilitation of the millions of refugees who would better serve their land by returning to their ancestral homes.

8. The efforts devoted by all of you towards the achievement of a fruitful solution to the problem confronting the India/Pakistan subcontinent since the Council started meeting on 4 December [1606th meeting] have been prodigious. We have all laboured hard and long and we look forward to a realization of our efforts. The way in which this could be achieved would be by the speedy adoption of the draft resolution now before the Council.

9. I call on the representative of Pakistan.

10. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): I have listened with close attention to the statement made by you just now, Sir. It was the understanding of my delegation that first the sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/10465 would present that draft resolution and make introductory statements. Consequently, I take it that the statement you have just now made does not have any bearing of an interpretative character on the draft resolution before us and that you have made that statement perhaps in your capacity as the representative of Sierra Leone.

11. We are considering a matter of utmost gravity and therefore we have to weigh every word that is uttered because the proceedings of this Council touch upon some of the most fundamental principles of the Charter and any interpretation which departs from the spirit of those principles can have profound consequences and is bound to reflect on the prestige and the efficacy of this Council. Therefore, my delegation would prefer to listen to what the sponsors have to say in regard to the draft resolution.

12. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The agreement reached between me, on behalf of the sponsors, and the two parties was that the draft resolution would first be put to a vote by you, Sir, without any kind of introductory statement and that immediately the vote on the draft resolution had been taken, my delegation, on behalf of the sponsors, would make an interpretative statement on certain of its aspects. I trust that you will proceed accordingly.

13. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the usual custom, I have only tried to appeal to members to proceed on this matter with all seriousness and to see that something is done. If Ambassador Farah had not made his statement, I had intended to suggest that the draft resolution now be put to the vote and that, after the voting, members be given an opportunity to make statements in explanation of their votes and then, lastly, the parties—India and Pakistan—be given an opportunity to make their statements.

14. There being no objection to that suggestion, I propose to put draft resolution S/10465 to the vote, in the hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>*

15. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Now that draft resolution S/10465 has been adopted by 13 votes in favour, two abstentions and none against, I wish to make a brief statement on behalf of the sponsors in explanation of certain aspects of the resolution.

16. First, I should like to make clear that this resolution was formed after very intensive consultations with both parties, and both parties have subscribed in general to all that is included in the text of the resolution.

17. In paragraph 1 the Council demands of India and Pakistan that not only should there be strict observance of a cease-fire and a cessation of all hostilities in the areas of

conflict, but that withdrawals should take place of all their armed forces to their respective sides.

18. In the eastern theatre, since fighting has stopped, foreign armed forces should be completely withdrawn as soon as practicable. In the western theatre, the resolution just adopted would call for the commencement of the process of disengagement leading without delay to withdrawal of the armed forces of both parties.

19. To summarize, where the resolution speaks of withdrawals of all armed forces, it is in the foregoing context that the sponsors wish the terms to be interpreted.

20. The sponsors of the resolution have noted the declaration by the Government of India that it has no territorial ambitions. In the implementation of this resolution, it is the view of the sponsors that the parties may make any mutually acceptable arrangement or adjustment that they may deem necessary.

21. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): My delegation of course supports every solution agreeable to India and Pakistan, countries equally friendly to us, as I have had many occasions to state. Indeed, we are very happy that an amicable settlement, as reflected in the resolution we have just adopted, has been agreed upon by both. But on a point of principle, supported by bitter experience of which the whole world is aware, it was with serious reservations that we voted in favour of the draft as a whole, more specifically in favour of paragraph 1. I say this because any clause that projects withdrawal into the uncertain future, regardless of where the withdrawal takes place, and leaves things hanging on unpredictable factors is a matter that we take with very serious reservations. Our stand, as has been explained several times during my brief interventions, especially during this debate, is: cease-fire, withdrawal, full enjoyment by refugees of their inalienable rights. It was mainly on this basis and on the basis of the interpretation given by the representative of Somalia concerning paragraph 1, but with our reservations, that we voted for the draft resolution.

22. It goes without saying that in our sincere wishes for India-Pakistani friendship and a future of happy relations between the two countries, we can be second to none.

23. I wish to state, in conclusion, that it was the intention of my delegation to introduce a very brief amendment to paragraph 1 that would have made it read as follows:

*"Demands that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities and any retaliation on an individual or collective scale in all areas of conflict be strictly observed . . ."*

But, Mr. President, having noticed from your statement that the sponsors of the resolution did not wish any change in the draft resolution as submitted to us, but that we should proceed immediately to vote on it—which we did—nothing was left for me but to appeal most sincerely and genuinely to both sides, asking that the amendment that I had intended to introduce—namely that any retaliation on an individual or collective scale be stopped, especially on the lines of the sad and tragic news we have been hearing—be heeded by the two parties, to whom I equally appeal.

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 307 (1971).

24. I thank you, Mr. President, and I wish both countries a very excellent and friendly future.
25. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution. However, we are highly dissatisfied with this resolution. It has failed to draw a line of distinction between right and wrong and failed to point out who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression. It does not contain a single word of condemnation of the open aggression against, and dismemberment of, a sovereign State by the Indian expansionists with the support of the Soviet Government.
26. In the past two weeks and more, the Security Council has remained helpless and unable to act in face of the Indian expansionists' aggression against, and trampling upon, Pakistan. This is a big mockery of the Security Council.
27. At present, the social-imperialists and Indian expansionists are overjoyed at their so-called successes. They fancy that they can be immune from resistance and punishment when, in broad daylight, they subject a sovereign State to wilful aggression and dismemberment. However, it is too early for them to become elated! The fall of Dacca is by no means a so-called milestone of victory for the Indian aggressors, but a starting-point from which they are heading towards defeat. The military occupation of East Pakistan will lead to greater upheaval and intransquillity in the south Asian subcontinent. The Pakistan people will not cease their heroic resistance. Nor will the Indian people be driven about like sheep by the social-imperialists and Indian expansionists. The people of the world will not pardon the monstrous crimes they have committed against the Pakistan people. They will surely eat the bitter fruits of their own making and will be censured by history.
28. The Chinese Government and people have consistently opposed aggression, subversion and interference by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists against other countries and firmly supported the people of all countries in the defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Pakistan people in their just struggle against aggression, subversion and dismemberment. We are convinced that no matter what difficulties and hazards may occur, final victory will belong to the great Pakistan people so long as they persevere in unity and struggle.
29. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Security Council was at last able to adopt draft resolution S/10465 today.
30. This resolution is the culmination of continued efforts made by the members of the Security Council, and every one of us contributed in one way or another to the formulation of this proposal. My particular tribute goes to Ambassador Farah of Somalia, who has done so much in paving the way to arrive at the compromise formula. We are happy to see that the two parties to the conflict, India and Pakistan, have come to accept this formula. We appreciate the co-operative spirit shown by the representatives of India and Pakistan in narrowing down their differences for the sake of restoring peace in the India-Pakistan subcontinent.
31. As this resolution has now obtained the endorsement of the Council, we should very much like to see its provisions fully implemented by the parties concerned, thus leading to the normalization of the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. With goodwill and a genuine desire for peace by the parties concerned as well as the countries directly or indirectly interested in the problem, the steps embodied in the resolution should have a fair chance of opening up a vista for a durable peace in the subcontinent.
32. Japan, as an Asian country and a friend of both India and Pakistan, is ready to co-operate in whatever capacity and by whatever means in facilitating the restoration of peace and alleviating the suffering of the people in the area.
33. Mr. LUDWICZAK (Poland): In the course of the debates on the question of the Indo-Pakistan conflict heard in this Council for over two weeks now, my delegation has several times presented its position. We have been stressing the fundamental character in the conflict of the internal situation in East Pakistan and the urgent need of its political solution in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people as the only right road for bringing about the cessation of hostilities in all areas and the withdrawal of armed forces to their respective territories. This has all along been our attitude. We have expressed it in the draft resolution which we submitted [S/10453/Rev.1]. We fully maintain this position of principle.
34. Lack of agreement on an action by the Security Council that would have taken into consideration all elements of the situation and their close interconnexion and lack of understanding for the primary importance of the factor of political settlement in East Pakistan was decisive in the Council's inability to exert any influence on the events. We have all along opposed a one-sided approach to the problem, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. That is why we cannot but express our reservation on the reference to General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) in the second preambular paragraph of the resolution that the Council has just adopted, and we want this reservation to be put on record.
35. It is with that consideration in mind that my delegation abstained in the vote on this resolution.
36. Today we have a situation where all hostilities have practically stopped in all areas of conflict. This is a development that all of us have certainly received with a feeling of relief. The Council should take due note of this fact and do everything possible to help make the cease-fire a durable one and to favour a further reduction of the conflict.
37. We realize that there are many problems to be solved in order to achieve this goal, such as the withdrawal of troops, the return of refugees and their rehabilitation, the considerable problems of social, economic and humanitarian character and the role of the United Nations in the solution of some of those problems.

38. In the view of our delegation it is the unimpeded process of political transformation in East Pakistan in conformity with the political will of its people as manifested in the elections of December 1970 that provides a decisive condition for the settlement of all these problems. We should at all times and at all stages keep this primary consideration in mind and act accordingly. Only then will this Council and the United Nations be able to contribute to the goal that we should all pursue: restoration of peace and security in the Indian subcontinent.

39. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The Italian delegation has cast a positive vote on draft resolution S/10465, which was submitted tonight for the decision of the Council. In doing so my delegation is convinced that the Security Council, even if it was not able to take action long ago, as we had advocated when we had more time to try to prevent the tragic events that occurred since last summer and more recently, can still serve a useful purpose in trying to restore and maintain peace in the Asian subcontinent.

40. As I have already stated on previous occasions, the Italian Government followed with anxiety since March, and even greater anxiety during the past few months, the course of events in that area of the world. The plight of the populations involved in the civil strife and the tragedy of millions of refugees evoked deep concern and emotion among both political leaders and public opinion in my country. Later events increased that concern and emotion.

41. I believe that the records of the Security Council indicate clearly the essential motives that have been behind all the initiatives taken by my delegation. We are gratified to note that the text we have voted on took its inspiration from a working paper we drafted with other non-permanent members and which was practically embodied in the draft resolution introduced by Japan and the United States.

42. My delegation welcomes the final text adopted tonight and the declaration made by Ambassador Farah, which—we were given to understand—both meet the consent of the main parties concerned. We are gratified by this positive development, convinced as we are that only by negotiation is it possible to solve the many serious problems with which India and Pakistan are confronted, and we are confident that such a process will be encouraged by our present decision.

43. The resolution which has been adopted just now by the Security Council covers the main problems which remain open and unsolved. In fact, on one side it clearly expresses the need for a durable cease-fire and cessation of hostilities in all areas of conflict and at the same time reiterates the urgent need for a solution of humanitarian problems in which millions of people are involved. There is no doubt, anyway, that the draft resolution represents only a first step, and certainly the Security Council will need to consider the matter again in order to explore what else could be done in order to restore peace in the area, and also to alleviate the misery of all the displaced persons who we hope may soon go back to their homes, as well as to take care of other civil populations.

44. I cannot conclude my statement without associating my delegation with the tribute which you, Sir, and previous

speakers have paid to Ambassador Farah for the relentless efforts he has made, with a sense of great responsibility and dedication, in order to bring about the successful outcome of our deliberations.

45. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is not to explain the vote of my delegation since Argentina, together with the delegations of Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone and Somalia, is a sponsor of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. Nor have I anything to add to the interpretation so eloquently given of this resolution by the representative of Somalia. The point of view of Argentina has been repeatedly stated in this debate. Accordingly, I simply wish to make a few additional remarks.

46. For a little more than two weeks the Security Council considered the tragedy which the subcontinent of India and Pakistan has been experiencing. As is known, despite the efforts of many delegations, no resolution could be adopted until tonight. We have arrived at a draft resolution which has won the approval of the Council because of the affirmative vote of 13 of its members—and here I would wish to point out that my delegation would have preferred to have the affirmative votes of the two other members who were not able to vote in favour—so that we have arrived at a compromise text. Like any compromise solution, for one reason or another it cannot be totally satisfactory to the parties who had wanted their views reflected differently; but it is in any case undeniable that the document which has just been adopted represents a positive step in the quest for a solution leading towards peace and a final settlement of this distressing crisis.

47. We understand the emotions and grief caused by the conflict between the adversaries and yet these two countries, with which Argentina maintains close and traditional bonds of friendship, are destined by geography to live together. It is our ardent hope—and we express every wish that it will be so—that for this reason, minimal though it be, these two countries will seek the basis for co-operation to replace confrontation which will enable both India and Pakistan to live in peace and overcome the problems of underdevelopment which afflict them both equally. At any rate, the delegation of Argentina most ardently hopes that these two friends of ours in Asia will within a short time extend the hand of friendship and jointly embark on a new course.

48. In conclusion, I believe it is a matter of elementary justice to pay a heartfelt tribute to Ambassador Farah, our friend and colleague from Somalia, for his tireless efforts in seeking a solution acceptable to the parties. All delegations seated round this table have made their contribution, but I believe that it is fair to emphasize that the delegation of Somalia in the final phases of consultation had a decisive influence which made it possible to take this important step. So to my friend, Ambassador Farah, I extend my sincerest congratulations.

49. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since the outbreak of this tragic affair we have always thought that there could be no peaceful solution unless all elements were taken into consideration,

some of which go back many months. We indicated that we could not in the interests of peace support any resolution other than one which would, regardless of the difficulties, meet with the agreement of the parties and delegations here in the Council and, if unanimity were not possible, at least a resolution which would not give rise to any fundamental hostility.

50. Finally such an agreement was reached. We approve it, we are grateful to the sponsors, and we pay tribute to the tireless endeavours of Ambassador Farah who is entitled to the fullest appreciation of the Council. This resolution is the result of all the efforts exerted by all members of the Council. It is also the result of failures which were not in vain for they reflected the essential concern of the Council. I am also bound to say that events had their weight and made us more acutely aware of realities which thus led to a compromise.

51. This resolution obviously comes late. We recognize that, but after all the Security Council was seized very late of a difficult situation, for some months earlier it might perhaps have been possible to prevent what has occurred. In any case, this is a lesson to us for the future. It is up to the Security Council, not only to heal but to try to prevent, and this while there is still time.

52. Even though this resolution comes late it is not without value for the future and it is for this reason that we voted in favour of it because in fact for nine months in that area of the world there have been too many victims, too many refugees; too many homes have been destroyed; there have been too many violations of human rights, and we should like draw the attention of all the parties concerned to their responsibilities, not only in regard to the international community but above all in regard to themselves. That is the purpose of certain paragraphs of the resolution, in particular paragraphs 3 and 4.

53. We are convinced that the parties concerned will abide by their commitments to apply the Geneva Conventions and that they will refrain from any reprisal because no atrocity, no killing, warrants further killing or atrocities; those in authority are the ones who are responsible, after all. We for our part, in the United Nations, have the responsibility of contributing to the relief of those who have suffered, and we are sure that our Organization will not be found wanting.

54. For the rest, it is now for the parties to negotiate. War has given way to negotiation and we rejoice. The parties concerned may rest assured that if they should desire it, they may count on our friendly co-operation in their search for peace.

55. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Today we have witnessed three concomitant events: first, the accession to the Presidency of the Pakistani Republic of His Excellency Mr. Bhutto, who a few days ago was among us. Secondly, a few hours ago, we agreed, here in the Security Council, on a new Secretary-General of the United Nations. Thirdly, we have just adopted a resolution which seems to remedy certain previous failures of the Security Council. I should like to

say: better late than never. Those three events, in the view of my delegation, augur well for peace in the Indian subcontinent.

56. At this point we should like to say how grateful our delegation is for the tenacity and perseverance displayed by our friend and colleague Ambassador Farah of Somalia. My delegation, in order to make its own contribution to peace and security, for both India and Pakistan, associated itself with the efforts made by the Somali delegation, particularly in recent days. We therefore subscribed to this resolution in order to attempt, in so far as possible, to play some part in the conciliation which should henceforth predominate between India and Pakistan, and in order to ensure once and for all respect for the principles which we have always professed—that is, peace, security, territorial integrity and non-intervention on the part of foreign forces; in other words, peaceful coexistence among States which are not only neighbours but brothers in all respects. I would even go so far as to say that they are almost blood brothers.

57. At the present time, my delegation feels it is its duty to appeal particularly to the magnanimity and flexibility of all sides. Those are criteria which we believe will contribute to the restoration of permanent peace and security. According to various sources, the situation still does not seem to be too bright. In the name of human compassion, it is incumbent upon us to make another earnest appeal for an end to be put to the acts of brutality and atrocities and violations of human rights, whether it be Indians or Pakistanis who are responsible, in the interest of the parties concerned.

58. That is why we feel that after the constitution of the new Pakistani Government it will be possible to settle a number of problems which have so far resisted all attempts at solution.

59. In conclusion, we should like to convey, on behalf of our Government—which has already, I am certain, done so—our warmest, most respectful and cordial congratulations to the new President of this young Pakistan which has to be constructed on new foundations in order to become and to remain one of the countries of the third world that have a contribution to make to peace, both nationally and internationally.

60. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): For the past two and a half weeks the Security Council has closely followed the course of events in the India-Pakistan subcontinent, with great concern and anxiety. At times we laboured literally night and day in efforts to bring to an end the hostilities with the agreement of all concerned, and to hasten the day when the work of reconstruction could begin.

61. I do not propose to discuss tonight why it was that the Security Council was unable to reach agreement at an earlier stage, because there is never much advantage in regretting the past. It is, however, a cause of considerable satisfaction to my delegation that we have now, thanks to the unremitting efforts by all concerned—and here I too must pay my tribute to the efforts of Ambassador Farah—been able to adopt a resolution which looked

primarily to the future. It is our earnest hope that the parties concerned will now be able to undertake such negotiations and discussions as are required to create, with the least possible delay, a situation of durable peace in the subcontinent.

62. In addition, the United Nations, including all its Members and its specialized agencies, must hold itself in readiness to give full assistance in the humanitarian problems of the aftermath of the war. The adoption of this resolution should enable these priority tasks to be tackled without delay.

63. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I would like to join in congratulating Ambassador Farah of Somalia for his patience, diligence and determination. Thanks to his efforts, principally, and to the efforts of many other delegations among us, the Security Council has at last acted. The resolution certainly is not perfect, but it does make important points on cease-fire and withdrawal; it does make an important point on the preservation of human life. While we are unhappy that this Council took so long to act authoritatively, we are indeed pleased that it has at last acted.

64. When the final history of this short but bitter war has been written, it will be noted that the United Nations, in spite of overwhelming votes in the General Assembly, and overwhelming votes in the Security Council, was not able to stop the war. Let us hope that historians will indeed record that the action we have taken here tonight proved to be action that resulted at least in the alleviation of human suffering—human suffering which is now plaguing the subcontinent.

65. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The USSR delegation considers it necessary to make the following statement in explanation of vote in connexion with the resolution which has just been adopted by the Security Council. The resolution contains an important and constructive provision concerning a cease-fire by the two parties in the Hindustan subcontinent. It provides for a cease-fire, a cessation of hostilities, an end to the war. It is an indication that reality has triumphed and that the main cause of the conflict has become obvious.

66. The operative part of the resolution which has been adopted contains a provision to the effect that there should be a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities. It also contains a provision concerning the withdrawal, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to the permanent appropriate cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir.

67. As you know, the preparation of the resolution which has been adopted by the Council was the result of lengthy and complex consultations among the members of the Council and the parties to the conflict. The very constructive role played by the distinguished Ambassador of Somalia, Mr. Farah, has already been mentioned here and we should like to associate ourselves with the words of appreciation concerning his efforts, which have led to a successful outcome.

68. The provisions of the resolution testify to India's noble intention not to make any territorial claims whatsoever, as the Security Council learned officially from the statement of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi [*see 1616th meeting, para. 5*].

69. Another constructive element of the resolution which has been adopted is the appeal to all States to refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation in the Hindustan subcontinent or endanger international peace.

70. Paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the resolution give due attention to the humanitarian aspects of the problem under consideration.

71. Despite all this, we must point out that the resolution contains provisions with which the USSR delegation cannot agree. For example, its second preambular paragraph refers to the General Assembly resolution of 7 December [*resolution 2793 (XXVI)*]. As you are aware, the USSR delegation, along with a number of other delegations, voted against that resolution. The reasons for that are well known. They were duly explained by the USSR delegation both in the course of the debate in the General Assembly and in the course of the consideration in the Security Council of the question of the situation in the Hindustan subcontinent. In this connexion, suffice it to recall briefly that the USSR delegation voted against the resolution in question because it was one-sided. It did not take account of the specific character, complexity and unprecedented nature of the events which had taken place in East Pakistan as a result of the repressive actions against the people of East Pakistan. But it was those events which were the main cause of the serious deterioration of the situation in that area and which later led to the outbreak of the military conflict resulting from the attack on India by Pakistan armed forces. Owing to all this, the conflict took on an international character and became the subject of discussion in the United Nations or, more precisely, in its two main organs, the Security Council and the General Assembly.

72. To the Soviet Union it had been obvious from the very outset that the conflict could not be settled by means of a one-sided approach. To solve the problem in a just and effective manner it was necessary to adopt a Security Council resolution, and when, because of the unwillingness of several delegations to face reality, this question was transmitted to the Assembly for consideration, it became necessary in the Assembly, too, to adopt precisely the kind of resolution in which the question of the cessation of hostilities was closely, inseparably and organically linked with the solution of the question of the need for a political settlement in East Pakistan on the basis of recognition of the will of the East Pakistan population through the transfer of power to its lawful representatives, the representatives of the political party which received a majority of votes in the elections of December 1970.

73. These essential conditions have not been reflected in the Assembly resolution. Subsequent developments have made it abundantly clear that the approach of the Soviet Union and of those States which share the same viewpoint with regard to ways of speedily ending the conflict in that area was perfectly correct and sound.



74. The USSR delegation cannot ignore the recent statement by the new President of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, with regard to the problem being discussed by the Council. As far as can be judged from the dispatches of foreign agencies and the press, in his first statement, despite the clearly expressed political will of the people of East Pakistan, the new President has attempted to stress the religious affiliations of individual groups of the population. The statement was bellicose and unrealistic. The President even said that he intended to "take revenge". Such intentions can only put us on our guard and cause us the most profound regrets. We shall, however, hope that this is not the last word of the new President of Pakistan on such an important problem as the need to normalize the situation in the Hindustan subcontinent.

75. The whole world has been horrified by the tragedy and sufferings in East Pakistan, the death of hundreds of thousands of people and the unprecedented flight from their own country of 10 million people. All the members of the Security Council, except one, have commented on this tragedy. Even the current President of Pakistan, speaking at a Security Council meeting [1611th meeting], acknowledged that a mistake had been made in East Pakistan, and afterwards he added that it had been a tragic mistake. Only one permanent member of the Security Council, China, and its leaders have remained blind and deaf to this tragedy and the sufferings of millions of people. They have followed the course of giving unreserved support to tyranny, terror and violence in East Pakistan. Neither condemnation of those who have done this nor pity for the victims has been expressed by Peking or by the representative of China in the Security Council.

76. The statement made today by the Chinese representative once again causes aggravation of the situation in the Hindustan subcontinent. What can be said about this? People, be on guard against the machinations of the intriguers and provocateurs!

77. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has from the very outset consistently spoken from a position of principle, insisting that only the people of East Pakistan, in the person of its elected representatives who received support in the elections of December 1970, can decide its fate. This position has often been explained in the statements of the Soviet delegation at Council meetings and in the General Assembly during the discussion of this question. It has been very clearly set out in the statements of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government and also in the official statements of TASS and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR with which the members of the Security Council are familiar since these documents have been distributed as official documents of the United Nations [see S/10422 and S/10463/Rev.1].

78. Because of all these considerations, the Soviet delegation, while noting the real significance of a number of the provisions of the resolution which the Council has adopted, could not support it and abstained in the vote.

79. The Soviet delegation also considers it necessary to stress that the official consent of India and subsequently of

Pakistan to a cessation of hostilities, which has also been reflected in the resolution adopted by the Council, creates the necessary conditions for completely ending the armed conflict in the Hindustan subcontinent and for consolidating the political means of settling the problems connected with that conflict. It was precisely those goals which the Soviet Union has consistently and sincerely striven to attain since the events first began to happen in East Pakistan. We are convinced that the ending of the war in the Hindustan subcontinent corresponds to the vital interests of the peoples of the region, creates the necessary conditions for their advancement along the path of national development and progress, and eliminates an existing hotbed of serious tension in the world.

80. In this connexion, the Soviet Union appeals to all countries to assist in every possible way in the speedy restoration of peace in the Hindustan subcontinent and to refrain from any steps which might make it difficult to normalize the situation there.

81. In conclusion, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Security Council to the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union of 18 December in connexion with the present situation in the Hindustan subcontinent. The text of this statement has been issued as an official document of the Security Council [see S/10463/Rev.1] and the members of the Council will have an opportunity to study it.

82. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua co-sponsored the draft resolution which we have just adopted in the certainty that its wording was satisfactory to the two parties directly concerned, India and Pakistan, these two nations held in such high esteem and beloved of us all. We are most grateful to the representative of Somalia for his most astute co-operation and his patient endeavors in trying to find a text acceptable to the parties and to this Council.

83. We hope that peace will become a reality on the India-Pakistan subcontinent. Nicaragua believes that it would be unthinkable to believe otherwise. When full peace is announced between these two nations, the entire world will rejoice. My country, which is such a good friend of theirs, will wholeheartedly share in this rejoicing. India and Pakistan are twin brothers because of geography and history. This is how they should continue to live; they should forget their bitterness and differences, and give proof to the world that while it is true that the heart has feelings, it is also true that the heart can forget.

84. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): By voting in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted, my delegation wished to show its determination to find a rapid and peaceful solution to the serious crisis which has overtaken the Indian subcontinent.

85. The appeal for a durable cease-fire, as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces, are we believe essential and immediate prerequisites to safeguard peace in the area. Furthermore, we should like to express the hope that all the parties, without exception, will scrupulously respect the Geneva Conventions.

86. However, my delegation will not disguise its disappointment at the inactivity of the Council when there was a breach of the peace and when the hostilities caused so many innocent victims among the very people who because of their nature and affinities are destined to live in peace. It will be up to the Council to draw a conclusion from this paralysis, and we must all study the ways and means of restoring its authority and increasing its effectiveness.

87. If it is true that our Organization, and more particularly the Security Council, will have to follow the evolution of the situation closely and take the necessary steps to intensify programmes of assistance and rehabilitation, mainly for East Pakistan, it is nevertheless true that the real peace-making efforts will have to be undertaken by India and Pakistan themselves.

88. We firmly believe that the door to dialogue is not closed, and we have confidence in the statemanship, the wisdom, and the generosity of the Indian and Pakistani leaders in their search together for a lasting political solution taking account of the aspirations of the peoples of East Pakistan, their economic interests, and their religious and spiritual bonds. At the same time, we hope that foreign powers will refrain from interfering in Indo-Pakistani affairs in order to profit from a particularly confused and emotional situation.

89. Once again, we should like to reiterate our conviction that the two parties will get together to seek a realistic settlement of the crisis so that peace can be restored in the Indian subcontinent.

90. Finally, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to associate myself with others who have emphasized the untiring efforts of Ambassador Farah and thanked him for everything he has done to produce this compromise text.

91. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The decision by the Council to adopt a resolution has come as a matter of great satisfaction to my delegation. The only unfortunate part about the whole process is that it did not come about earlier. But, as the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out, we must not live by recrimination. We must be able to learn lessons from the past, and see that the next time we are faced with a situation of this dimension, this organization and this Council must be a place to which people and nations can turn in hope and from which they will not be driven away by despair.

92. The position of my Government on this whole situation has been quite clear. It has always been for an immediate cessation of hostilities, for an immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from the territories of other States, unconditionally. It has always been that in matters of this kind a solution must be sought through political means and not through military means.

93. Furthermore, my Government has been most concerned about the sufferings of people in the region, and it is the hope of my Government that effective and energetic measures will be taken to secure the protection of all those persons who now find themselves prisoners of war, and adequately to protect the civilian population in the areas of

conflict from physical sufferings or extermination, or any reprisals or acts of brutality.

94. My delegation has been concerned over reports which have reached it since the war began about reprisals and acts of vengeance wrought on the innocent people, and it is the hope of my delegation that the two Governments concerned will use their good offices and will indeed abide by the obligations which they have accepted as signatories to the Geneva Conventions to assure that adequate measures are taken to ensure that people do not become the victims of acts of brutality or of reprisal. It is the hope of my delegation that if such acts do not cease this Council will again be seized of the problem and will consider the adoption of a resolution which would call upon all States to observe scrupulously the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War,<sup>2</sup> and in particular articles 31, 32 and 33.

95. My delegation is conscious of the appeal made by the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is our hope that that organization will increase its efforts and that both parties will allow representatives of the Red Cross to use and apply its good offices for the sake of humanity.

96. Finally, I should like to say that I have been deeply touched by the generous statements that have been addressed to my delegation for the role it has played in what I might call the finalizing of a resolution which has been able to secure such a wide acceptance among the members of the Council—and, more importantly, by the delegations of India and Pakistan. But, as several representatives have pointed out, the approved draft was not the result of the efforts of one or two delegations but the culmination of the efforts of practically all the delegations. I do not think that any one delegation can claim authorship of any particular proposal. The role of the Somali delegation was purely that of putting the finishing touches to the draft resolution, and I am glad that it is in that spirit that the Council has accepted it.

97. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan.

98. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The fact that the Security Council has at long last adopted a resolution on the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent does not detract from the greater fact that the Council failed signally in dealing with that situation in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

99. Pakistan was subjected to open and unconcealed aggression: the Council failed to prevent it. There was a blatant breach of the peace: the Council failed to suppress it. War engulfed the subcontinent: the Council failed to extinguish its flames. An untold number of lives were lost: the Council did nothing to save them.

100. Even at this stage the Council has succeeded in doing nothing more than adopting a resolution which is as weak as the situation is grave and of manifold dangers.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.

101. It is a disturbing truth—disturbing not only to the Council but to all Members of the United Nations, but true nevertheless—that in this unparalleled situation the General Assembly should have shown a much greater sense of urgency and displayed a closer fidelity to the Charter than the Security Council. That, of course, was due to the arbitrary use of the veto by one permanent member of the Council, which frustrated the efforts of the majority of the Council. There is not the slightest doubt that this will cause—indeed, has already caused—a reappraisal of the relevance of the Security Council to issues of war and peace, which cannot but have a far-reaching impact on the attitude of all Powers, great and small alike.

102. Now that the resolution has been adopted, and an interpretative statement has been made about it by the representative of Somalia on behalf of the sponsors of the resolution, the delegation of Pakistan regards it as wholly improper to attempt to alter the intent of it or give it a construction different from the plain meaning of the words of the resolution and the interpretative statement, taken together with the other provisions of the resolution and the purposes and principles of the Charter.

103. I should like, however, to point out those features of the resolution which govern the attitude towards it of my Government.

104. First, the resolution has been adopted by the exercise of the powers of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. The first preambular paragraph and paragraph 1 of the resolution leave no room for doubt in this regard.

105. Second, the resolution cannot be divorced from, but has to be read together with, General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7 December 1971. The second, third and fourth preambular paragraphs would have no place in the resolution if it had been conceived in a different framework from that of resolution 2793 (XXVI).

106. Third, the word “territories” in paragraph 1 of the resolution cannot mean anything but the national territories as constituted when the State of Pakistan came into existence in 1947. Since the United Nations is not a nation-making or a nation-breaking agency it cannot, in any situation involving two or more organized States, distinguish between territories except in the national sense. In no circumstances can the Organization violate the principle of the territorial integrity of Member States: consequently, it is precluded from according even implicit recognition to the result of any attempt, by aggression, subversion, or other use of force, to dismember Pakistan. Paragraph 1 can therefore mean nothing other than that the armed forces of India must withdraw from Pakistan to Indian territory, in both the east and the west, and that the armed forces of Pakistan must withdraw from Indian territory. No distinction can be made between one area of Pakistan territory and another, any more than a distinction can be made in the case of Indian territory.

107. Fourth, there is no ambiguity whatsoever in the reference to the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, mentioned in paragraph 1. The cease-fire line which the

United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan is empowered to supervise is that which was established by the Karachi agreement of 27 July 1949,<sup>3</sup> to which the Governments of India and Pakistan and the United Nations are parties and which was concluded under the provisions of part I of the resolution of 13 August 1948 of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> Any departure from that line is a violation of it and not an act establishing a new cease-fire line.

108. Fifth, the observance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 called for in paragraph 3 of the resolution is a responsibility devolving particularly on the Government of India, whose armed forces are occupying the eastern part of Pakistan. The Council is no doubt aware of the violations of these Conventions which have been committed since the fall of Dacca on 13 December. Even as I speak, acts of savagery and genocide are being carried out in East Pakistan despite the undertakings of the Indian occupation forces.

109. Sixth, the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to lend his good offices for the solution of humanitarian problems envisaged in paragraph 5 is not dependent upon the agreement of the parties.

110. Seventh, the Pakistan delegation attaches due importance to paragraph 7 of the resolution. It trusts that until the aggression is terminated the Council will do what it says and not relegate the situation to oblivion.

111. I have once again to say that we regard it as totally wrong to construe the interpretative statement made by the representative of Somalia on behalf of the sponsors as drawing any kind of legal distinction between the withdrawals of Indian and Pakistan armed forces in the eastern theatre and those in the western theatre. If the wording of his statement with respect to the two theatres conveys a sense of difference, it is only because in the eastern theatre there are no Pakistan forces on Indian territory but there are Indian forces on Pakistan territory, while in the western theatre forces of both sides are on each other's territory. In the eastern theatre withdrawals have to be one-sided and that means that withdrawals will apply only to the Indian occupation forces while in the western theatre they have to be mutual.

112. This, and considerations of the time factor, constitute the only points of difference with regard to the two theatres mentioned in the interpretative statement of the Ambassador of Somalia.

113. I must also make it clear that the resolution does not embody any amicable settlement of the conflict between the two parties. It only denotes agreement on the principles of cease-fire and withdrawal. It does not dispose of the fundamental issues created by Indian aggression, nor does it show any awareness of its consequences both for Pakistan and the world.

114. As President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has stated, there can be no real peace between India and Pakistan until the

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 7*, document S/1430/Add.1, annex 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/1430, para. 132.

Indian armed forces withdraw from both East and West Pakistan and there is a just settlement of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the aspirations of its peoples.

115. Turning now to some of the observations made by the members of the Security Council, I would first refer to the statement of the Ambassador of Burundi. May I say how deeply moved I am by the cordial reference made by him to the accession to the leadership of Pakistan by President Bhutto. For us this is a new beginning. All Member States we trust will appreciate that no new beginning is possible without ending national humiliation and redeeming national honour and integrity.

116. Turning to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union in explanation of his vote, my delegation must express a deep sense of disappointment that even at this stage Ambassador Malik reiterated his observations in regard to the General Assembly resolution which represents the will of 104 Members of the United Nations and is frustrated by the will of one Member State. With reference to his observations on President Bhutto's statement, I would once again request him to read that statement, the President of Pakistan's statement, in its context. The new President of Pakistan did refer to the need for negotiations, to making a new beginning. How could he forget his solemn duty as President of the State of Pakistan to safeguard its territorial integrity and national honour, to which he is sworn, despite the successful use of force by India and the occupation of the greater part of Pakistan? I would have expected that the representative of the Soviet Union who referred to the acts of repression of the previous régime would now—at least in this new context, in the context of the accession to power of a new popular leader, pledged to negotiations with the genuine representatives of East Pakistan—make some reference to the acts of savagery and genocide which are taking place in Dacca and elsewhere in Pakistan under the occupation of the Indian armed forces.

117. Finally, my delegation would like to express its gratitude to Ambassador Farah of Somalia for his unremitting efforts to salvage the honour and prestige of the Security Council even at this late hour, and for the support given to him by the representative of Argentina. Argentina and Pakistan are at opposite ends of the world but my delegation has been moved by the eloquent manner in which the representative of Argentina, speaking as a country of the third world, has upheld principle and tried to salvage the situation for the United Nations.

118. Our gratitude is also due to Ambassador Vinci of Italy who for many months has agonized over this situation. Also, to the Ambassadors of Japan, Belgium, Nicaragua and to the Ambassador of Syria who can understand the poignancy of our situation because his own country has been the subject of invasion and occupation.

119. On many occasions in the past, speaking in the name of the Pakistan delegation, I have been constrained to disagree with the position of the United States on many issues and we have found ourselves on opposite sides. I must therefore acknowledge the courageous position of

principle taken by the representative of the United States, Ambassador Bush, in this most flagrant case of aggression, occupation and attempted dismemberment of a sovereign State. A word of gratitude, even to a super-Power, is not out of order on this occasion.

120. To you, Mr. President, I should like to express my admiration for your patience and for your determination to bring all points of view together. You considered the situation as one in which some other country of Africa or a country of the third world could be placed on another occasion and we are indeed moved that under your leadership the non-permanent members of the Security Council did not cease and desist, despite all the discouragement and pressure brought to bear on them, and did salvage something out of the wreckage.

121. As to the People's Republic of China, we have no words to express sufficiently what we feel towards them. Their stand has been honourable. They have stood by their word. No element of calculation entered into the posture of the People's Republic of China, whether it should be on the winning side or whether it should not be on the losing side. It espoused a position of principle regardless of considerations of so-called geopolitics and balance of power. China and Pakistan are not countries which have anything in common in terms of ideology or social system; but yet where great principles were at stake, the great People's Republic of China, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, stood by a weak country against the whole world. The people of Pakistan, despite whatever may be said by others, will not forget what China has said and done in this terrible hour for my country.

122. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Ambassador of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

123. I now call on the Foreign Minister of India.

124. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): The resolution which has just been adopted by the Council is, we understand, the result of almost continuous discussions among various members of this Council. We are most appreciative of the efforts made by the Ambassador of Somalia, ably supported by many of his colleagues in the Council, to work out a draft resolution which has found general acceptance in the Council. I should like to take this opportunity to make a few observations on the resolution and to mention some basic points.

125. The second preambular paragraph refers to General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7 December 1971. My delegation had voted against that resolution in the General Assembly. The position of the Government of India has already been stated in its communication [S/10445], dated 12 December 1971, to the Secretary-General, and we stand by that position. The substance of the General Assembly resolution was introduced soon after in the Security Council in a different form, but the Council did not adopt it. We are, therefore, entitled to question the relevance of the reference to that resolution in the resolution which the Council has just adopted.

126. The last preambular paragraph of the resolution states that a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities prevail.

We are glad that the initiative taken by the Prime Minister of India led to a response from Pakistan and that a cease-fire became effective. We are willing to arrive at agreed arrangements with the parties concerned, to settle not only withdrawals but also other problems which have arisen as a result of this conflict, by mutual negotiation. This point has been stressed by several members of the Security Council.

127. As regards the eastern theatre, the existence of Bangla Desh and of the Bangla Desh Government cannot be ignored. We have always taken the view that the Bangla Desh representatives must be heard. Unfortunately, in spite of our protests, the Council did not respond to this suggestion.

128. We have made it amply clear that the Indian armed forces will be withdrawn from Bangla Desh as soon as practicable. With the independence of Bangla Desh and the surrender of Pakistani troops there, their earliest possible repatriation from the eastern theatre has to be arranged. They are under our protection and we have undertaken to treat them in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. The presence of the Indian forces in Bangla Desh, is, therefore, necessary for such purposes as the protection of Pakistani troops who have surrendered to us and for prevention of reprisals and the like. We shall withdraw our troops from Bangla Desh as soon as these tasks have been accomplished. The Government of Bangla Desh has already set up a civil administration which will, we hope, relieve us in the nearest possible future of the necessity of being present there. We have no desire to stay there a day longer than necessary.

129. I must add that Pakistan has no longer any right to keep any troops in Bangla Desh, and any attempt by Pakistan to enter Bangla Desh by force would create a threat to peace and security and could endanger peace and stability once again. This is a reality which the international community cannot ignore.

130. As regards the western theatre, the international frontier between India and Pakistan is well defined. However, as a result of hostilities, certain areas of Pakistan are now under the control of Indian troops, and a much smaller area of India is under the control of Pakistani troops. We accept the principle of withdrawals. This is a problem we wish to negotiate and settle with Pakistan as early as possible, and we look forward to co-operation from Pakistan in this regard.

131. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. However, in order to avoid bloodshed and to preserve peace, we have respected the cease-fire line supervised by the United Nations Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan. In the course of this conflict, as also in 1965, it was crossed by troops of Pakistan at various places. India had therefore to cross this line then, as now. There is thus need to avoid the repetition of such incidents by making some adjustments in the cease-fire line in order to make it more stable, rational and viable. This we propose to discuss and settle with Pakistan.

132. Paragraph 6 of the resolution requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of developments.

The Government of India will be glad to keep the Secretary-General informed of all important and significant developments. However, it is our hope that negotiations between the parties themselves will start in all seriousness and with speed, and resolve all the problems that have arisen.

133. The Ambassador of Somalia has been kind enough to mention the unilateral declaration by India that India has no territorial ambitions. While we adhere to this declaration, we regret that no similar declaration has yet been made by Pakistan.

134. I have made these observations on the resolution in order to make our position clear so that there may be no doubt about it in any future discussions on the subject. The Government of India will give due consideration to the resolution of the Council and make further comments if it deems any necessary.

135. I would have liked to conclude on a note of hope. At last in Pakistan a democratically elected leader, who was with us only a few days ago, has become President of that country. We welcome his coming to power and we look forward to working with him to improve our bilateral relations. When he was here he spoke of the need for a vision of the future. However, we are disappointed at the tone and content of his very first statement after becoming President. India regrets that there is so far no visible change in Pakistan's policy of conflict and confrontation. We had hoped that Mr. Bhutto would make a fresh beginning. While we still hope that second thoughts will prevail, we cannot ignore the declaration made by him as President and Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan.

136. Perhaps after making a careful assessment of the situation, and keeping in mind the interests of his own people and the peace and progress of the whole sub-continent, Mr. Bhutto may in the near future adopt a more objective and far-sighted attitude.

137. I agree with the representative of France that this tragedy could have been prevented if the international community had acted earlier, particularly when atrocities were being committed in what was at that time East Pakistan. We agree with the representative of Belgium that real efforts will have to be made by India and Pakistan themselves, and the door for dialogue should remain open. That is our approach to finding a satisfactory solution of our problems with Pakistan.

138. This is not an occasion to indulge in recrimination or polemics. It is more important to think of steps to consolidate the cease-fire and arrive at a durable peace in our area. Therefore, I do not think it necessary or desirable to reply to the slanderous allegations and baseless charges made by a certain country. We should not like to interpret its views as an indication of a desire to interfere in our affairs. I believe it is the wish of this Council, as much as that of the people of the subcontinent, that we should work out our own solutions.

139. We have no feelings of animosity against the people of Pakistan. We wish them well. We want to work in

co-operation with them for our mutual benefit. As many representatives have said, we are blood brothers, to use the words of the representative of Burundi, or twin brothers, to use the words of the representative of Nicaragua.

140. I agree with the representative of Pakistan that an untold number of lives were lost and that the United Nations failed to take timely action. If the international community had taken action on the basic causes of the conflict before it started, it could perhaps have been avoided. The representative of Pakistan used a dangerous word—genocide—in speaking of what is happening now in Bangla Desh. Would he not call the killing of 1 million persons on grounds of differences of race, culture and language a genocide?

141. The will of 104 Members expressed in the General Assembly has been misinterpreted by the representative of Pakistan. We share the desire and the anxiety of the General Assembly for peace, for a cease-fire and withdrawal, but there can be no durable peace unless the root cause of the problem—respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the 75 million persons of Bangla Desh—is recognized.

142. Not only Pakistan but India too has gone through a most difficult time. Bangla Desh has had a most tragic and traumatic experience, resulting in 1 million persons being killed and 10 million driven out of their homes. We regret that no reference has been made to that in the resolution. Now that hostilities have ceased, it is our earnest hope that the three countries of the subcontinent—Bangla Desh, Pakistan and India—will co-operate and usher in an era of peace, progress and prosperity.

143. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan.

144. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Although the hour is late, I feel it necessary to take the floor once again because the statement we have just heard from the Foreign Minister of India calls for a reply.

145. First, the Pakistan delegation emphatically rejects the contention of the Foreign Minister of India that Pakistan has no right to keep troops in so-called Bangla Desh. East Pakistan is an integral part of the territory of Pakistan, and the juridical status and the inalienable rights of the people of Pakistan cannot be altered in any manner by an act of aggression and military occupation. The proclamation in the capital of India of the independence of a territory which is part of Pakistan was not an act of self-determination of the people of East Pakistan, but an act of dismemberment of a sovereign country by military aggression.

146. Secondly, I should like to state that the withdrawal of occupying armed forces cannot be conditional upon negotiations. It is only after withdrawal that negotiations can really take place which would lead to a settlement of the conflict. It must also be added that these negotiations do not require any recognition of any entity not accepted by the Government of Pakistan.

147. With reference to the statement of the Foreign Minister of India about the absence of a declaration by Pakistan renouncing territorial ambitions, let me state here and now that we have had no territorial ambitions. All we have tried to do is to defend our territory. We have no territorial claims on Indian territory. But we do not consider Jammu and Kashmir to be part of India. It is disputed territory, whose future is to be settled in accordance with an agreement arrived at under the aegis of the Security Council.

148. It is extremely gracious on the part of the Foreign Minister of India to say that he wishes Pakistan well. He said that, after his country has invaded East Pakistan and occupied it militarily. And in the same breath he talks of three countries in the subcontinent. We would much rather not be the recipient of such good wishes.

149. In regard to the statements made by the new President of Pakistan, let me say that a fresh beginning can be made only on the basis of the withdrawal of Indian occupation forces and a renunciation of the attempt to bring about the dismemberment of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan must be left to themselves to evolve their own political solution in accordance with the aspirations of the people through the genuinely elected representatives of the people.

150. If India is genuinely interested in peace in the subcontinent, the first thing it should do is to cease its aggression against Pakistan.

151. As for his reference to President Bhutto, I can assure the Foreign Minister of India that the President of Pakistan cannot be expected to bow to force.

152. At this grave moment I do not wish to enter into an acrimonious argument with the Foreign Minister of India about genocide. He has mentioned the figure of 1 million. On what basis were a million people killed? I can unhesitatingly state that any killing of innocent men, women and children is a damnable, abominable and condemnable act, irrespective of which side does it. And we would have liked to see some recognition that innocent persons by the tens of thousands were massacred between 2 and 25 March and subsequently. However, what we now hope would be that in accordance with the undertaking given by the military occupation authorities, they would act to stop the savagery and the killing which are going on and which are being reported in the press. It will not do to suppress the dispatches of foreign correspondents. We have heard a great deal in these debates during the last months about the censorship imposed by the Government of Pakistan, but there is censorship now by the Indian occupation authorities to prevent the truth from being revealed to the world, and we would hope that in accordance with their responsibilities the Indian occupation authorities will stop this bloodshed in East Pakistan.

153. The PRESIDENT: There being no other names inscribed on the list of speakers, I propose to adjourn the meeting *sine die*, subject to the approval of the Council. Another meeting will be called after due consultations with members. However, if I receive a request for an emergency

meeting I am ready and willing to give members three hours' notice before such a meeting is held.

154. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, I am not clear whether you have confined your remarks purely to the situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent or whether you are speaking generally about our work. There are a number of items which deserve to be brought up quite urgently, particularly the item on Southern Rhodesia, and it is my hope that immediately after we have relaxed during the Christmas holidays, we could take up the question of Southern Rhodesia—on or about 28 December.

155. The PRESIDENT: I was referring generally to the work of the Security Council. If there is a request that I should call a meeting at any time, I would within three hours arrange for a meeting; otherwise I will have to hold

consultations with members before fixing the date for another meeting.

156. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I just wish to inform members of the inclination of my delegation towards calling for a meeting of the Security Council on or about 28 December. Perhaps members might take this into account in planning their Christmas and New Year programmes.

157. The PRESIDENT: Subject to what members may have to say, I shall arrange for a meeting on 28 December. Six hours' notice may be sufficient, since it is not an emergency meeting—that is, if members give me the power to determine when the meeting is to be held.

*The meeting rose at 10.35 p.m.*

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